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18 May 1984

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 May 1984

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

XIANG NAN MEETS U.S., JAPANESE VISITORS

OW251249 [Editorial Report] Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese on 2 April 1984 publishes on page 1 a 500-word report stating that Comrade Xiang Nan met with a good-will delegation from the state of Oregon on the evening of 1 April in the Fujian Provincial Government Building. According to the report, "Comrade Xiang Nan extended a warm welcome to the guests and was delighted with the results of friendly contacts between the two sides and the progress made in the initial talks over the last 2 days concerning economic, science-technology, and cultural exchanges." Present at the meeting were Wen Fushan, Tian You, Zhao Zongxin, Wang Zhixin, and Yang Huaaji.

The same paper on 4 April publishes on page 1 a 400-word report that a 14-member group, including celebrated Japanese writer Ryotaro Shima and famous Chinese writer in Japan Chen Shunchen, arrived in Fuzhou on 3 April at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. The group was met at the airport by Wen Fushan, who was identified as adviser to the provincial government and president of the Fujian branch of the amity association. In the evening, the report states, First Secretary of the provincial CPC Committee Xiang Nan met with these guests from Japan and held a banquet for them.

CSO: 4005/559

GENERAL

BRIEFS

CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO IRAN--Cairo, 27 Apr (XINHUA)--Visiting Federal German Parliamentary Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Juergen Moelleman today denied that his country supplies Iran with chemical weapons, affirming that it is among the few European states which supply neither Iraq nor Iran with weapons. In an interview with the Middle East News Agency during his week-long visit, he said Federal German experts are at present studying possibilities of setting up a nuclear station for generating electricity in Iran. But he said: "We do not cooperate with any state producing fissionable bombs needed for the production of nuclear weapons." [Text] [OW280026 Beijing XINHUA in English 1928 GMT 27 Apr 84]

CSO: 4000/339

UNITED STATES

U.S. SUPPORTS ASEAN STAND ON KAMPUCHEA

OW240457 Beijing XINHUA in English 0136 GMT 24 Apr 84

[Text] Washington, April 23 (XINHUA)--The United States once again expressed its support today for the efforts of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to achieve a political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

State Department spokesman Alan Romberg told reporters here today that the United States and ASEAN "seek an independent, neutral Kampuchea at peace with its neighbors, including Vietnam." He added that the United States will continue to support ASEAN's efforts to achieve a solution based on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the restoration of self-determination for the Khmer people through internationally supervised elections.

Romberg pointed out that Vietnam, with the support of the Soviet Union, has rejected such a settlement and continues to seek a military solution which would consolidate its domination of Kampuchea, as evidenced by its latest attacks on Khmer encampments along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Romberg made the remarks when asked to comment on a recent Indonesian Foreign Ministry statement that the Soviet Union shows strong interest in an Indonesian plan for a resolution of the Kampuchea problem, but Indonesia is waiting for the reaction of other ASEAN countries and the reaction of the United States as well.

He said Soviet support for political settlement consistent with the U.N.-endorsed formula would be "a most welcome development."

"We look forward to our continuing consultations with ASEAN on Kampuchea," said Romberg.

CSO: 4000/341

UNITED STATES

U.S. TO PATROL EL SALVADOR COAST TO STOP ARMS SMUGGLING

OW260553 Beijing XINHUA in English 1905 GMT 25 Apr 84

[Text] Washington, April 25 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Navy will start a "coastal surveillance exercise" this week in the Gulf of Fonseca designed to stop "the flow of arms" from Nicaragua to Salvadorean guerillas, the WASHINGTON POST reported today.

The paper quoted Pentagon officials as saying that two destroyers will be deployed to the Gulf, which is bordered by El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

The exercise is scheduled to last till May 5 and will involve smaller ships from Salvadorean and Honduran navies. However, reports said that a much larger-scale manoeuvre, "Ocean Venture '84" involving scores of U.S. ships and plans and 30,000 people, will be staged in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico at the same time.

Since last August the United States has conducted a series of sea and land military exercises in Central America to show its support to Honduras and El Salvador and to intimidate Nicaragua.

Pentagon officials stressed that the U.S. Navy destroyers will not participate in challenges of arms-bearing craft that may be encountered during the exercise in the Gulf of Fonseca, which separates El Salvador and Nicaragua 20 miles apart at its mouth.

But a congressional source said that "it's obviously just part of the bigger picture" and "it is getting U.S. combatants in the middle of a gulf sided by three countries at war."

The U.S. administration considered the Gulf of Fonseca as a primary route for secret arms shipments to Salvadorean guerillas and for more than a year, the U.S. has worked to interdict such arms flow, according to press reports.

CSO: 4000/341

UNITED STATES

U.S. TRADE DEFICIT HITS ALL-TIME HIGH IN MARCH

OW281719 Beijing XINHUA in English 0524 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Washington, April 27 (XINHUA)--The U.S. trade deficit has continued to soar since the start of this year, hitting an all-time high of 10.3 billion U.S. dollars in March, the Commerce Department announced today.

This was the third straight month to show a record-breaking trade deficit, following January and February which registered deficits of 9.5 and 10.1 billion dollars respectively.

Imports in March increased to 28 billion U.S. dollars, up 2.6 percent from February's total of 27.3 billion, or 37.3 percent higher than the same period last year. Exports for the same month were up 2.9 percent over February to reach 17.7 billion dollars.

Economists put the blame for the huge trade deficit primarily on a strong U.S. dollar whose value has increased by an average of some 50 percent as compared with the currencies of the ten other major industrial countries since the beginning of this decade.

This has raised the cost of American goods overseas and made foreign goods less expensive for the U.S. meanwhile, the stronger economic recovery in the United States than in other industrial countries and the developing world has also curbed the expansion of U.S. business in foreign markets.

Nearly a decade ago, the United States ran a trade surplus of 8.9 billion dollars. But since the late 1970's, American imports have exceeded exports by about 30 billion dollars a year. The Commerce Department predicted that if the present trend continues, the trade deficit is likely to reach 110 billion this year.

The ever-widening trade deficit has prompted lobbying efforts from within the business community to curb imports, on the grounds that they are hurting American industry. But the administration has underscored the "positive aspects" of the deficit--its anti-inflationary effect and its pull in attracting foreign capital to the United States. The administration has also shied away from more protectionist measures for fear that they could stifle the U.S. economic recovery.

UNITED STATES

U.S. ARMS NEGOTIATOR SAYS NO CONCESSIONS TO USSR

OW280419 Beijing XINHUA in English 0344 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Washington, April 27 (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan's chief strategic arms negotiator Edward L. Rowny told a Dallas audience yesterday that it is up to the Soviet Union to return to the nuclear arms control negotiating table, but the U.S. "must not attempt to offer them concessions to return to the talks."

Speaking at a regional foreign policy conference, Rowny said it is in the interest of the U.S. and the Soviet Union to work toward reducing the level of nuclear weapons and hence reduce the risk of nuclear war. When the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) adjourned on December 8, 1983, the Soviet negotiator declined to agree to resume the talks in February 1984 after the deployment of U.S. Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe.

Rowny emphasized that the United States "stands ready to return to the table to negotiate an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement." He said President Reagan has authorized him to explore various ways of trading off advantage and interests. "We have a number of specific proposals which we are prepared to discuss with the Soviets when they agree to return to the table," Rowny said.

Stressing the need for patience in dealing with the Soviets, Rowny said the Soviets hope that the "hiatus in nuclear negotiations will cause such concern among the people of the United States and Europe that Western governments will be forced to offer new concessions simply to get the Soviets back to the negotiating table."

Rowny called for a bipartisan approach to arms control, an effort to reduce the "risk of nuclear war by reducing the levels of nuclear armaments." "A united negotiating position based on a continuing long-term approach to arms control will help bring the Soviets back sooner--rather than later--to the negotiating table in Geneva," he said.

Rowny insisted that the MX missile program is vital to the success of the nuclear discussion with the Soviets. He said any postponement, scaling back, or abandonment of the MX program "could well delay the Soviets' return to the negotiations. It would encourage the Soviets to believe that further intransigence would lead to even greater cuts in U.S. defence programs."

CSO: 4000/341

UNITED STATES

LATIN AMERICANS DENOUNCE U.S. FOR MINING PORTS

OW290810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0649 GMT 29 Apr 84

[Text] Caracas, April 28 (XINHUA)--The Latin American Economic System (SELA) took a decision on Saturday at its fourth special council meeting being held here denouncing all direct and indirect intervention in Central America, including the mining of Nicaragua's ports.

The decision, contained in a SELA information bulletin distributed here today, blamed the mining of Nicaragua's ports as a violation of international law and for the losses it has caused in life and property and in Nicaragua's economy.

The decision appealed to the international community to use all means at its disposal to put an end to such moves, which threaten the security of Nicaragua and Central America as a whole.

The current council meeting, with 25 of its member countries attending, focused discussion on the administrative management and budget of its permanent secretariat. The U.S. mining of Nicaragua's ports was included in its agenda at the request of Nicaragua acting on a SELA decision made after the Malvinas war that a third country should be barred from taking coercive actions against SELA's member countries.

CSO: 4000/341

UNITED STATES

BRIEFS

U.S. MIDDLE EAST ENVOY--Cairo, 22 Apr (XINHUA)--U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Richard Murphy left here today after a two-day visit to Egypt, the last leg of his Middle East tour. Murphy, entrusted by President Ronald Reagan to prepare a report on the Middle East situation, held talks with President Mubarak on the latest Mideast developments and also conferred with Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan 'Ali on the Palestine issue, the Iraq-Iran war and the Lebanese crisis. The envoy expressed full support for Egypt's efforts to help end the Gulf war. Egypt had urged the United States to intensify its efforts to help bring an end to the war. The issue of Jerusalem was also among the topics discussed by the two sides. Kamal Hassan 'Ali said that Egypt appreciates the role played by President Reagan and his administration to put down the U.S. Congress campaign to transfer the American Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Egypt has adopted a strong stand and just broken off its diplomatic relations with El Salvador and Costa Rica which have moved their embassies to Jerusalem. [Text] [OW221252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 22 Apr 84]

CSO: 4000/341

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

REPORTAGE ON SRV SHELLING OF THAI VILLAGE

Report on Shelling

OW011213 Beijing XINHUA in English 0811 GMT 1 May 84

[Text] Bangkok, May 1 (XINHUA)--One hundred Thai villagers were wounded and seven houses destroyed yesterday when Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea fired about 40 artillery shells into the Thai northeastern province of Surin, reported the Thai paper "Matichon" today.

One villager was killed and seven others were seriously wounded by the shells which landed in Ban Charat Village of the province at 2:00 p.m.

Thai border guards fought back in retaliation and forced the Vietnamese to stop shelling at about 3:00 p.m. Four battalions of Thai soldiers have been moved into the area for any eventuality.

Thai Foreign Ministry Protests

OW011853 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 1 May 84

[Text] Bangkok, May 1 (XINHUA)--Thai deputy director-general of the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry Chawat Athayuk today summoned Vietnamese ambassador to Thailand Tran Quang Co and handed him a note protesting against the Vietnamese shelling of a Thai village in Surin Province yesterday.

The note said some twenty shells launched by the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea fell on Thailand's Charat Village of Bua Chhead County in Surin Province, killing and wounding more than 50 villagers and destroying eight houses and some other property.

The note pointed out, this was the third serious crime committed by the Vietnamese troops in about a month's time. Vietnam had earlier intruded into Thailand's Sisaket Province and shot down a cruising plane of Thailand.

These crimes, the note said, were deliberate provocations which seriously menaced Thailand's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national security.

The note demanded that Vietnam compensate for all the losses caused by the provocations and cease to repeat them.

Thai armed forces will take whatever necessary severe measures against Vietnamese provocations and other acts which violate Thailand's sovereignty or threaten its security, though the country is not involved in the Kampuchea conflict, the note concluded.

CSO: 4000/342

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE TROOPS REPULSED--Yunnan front line, 30 Apr (XINHUA)--Chinese frontier guards today wiped out Vietnamese troops who occupied China's border areas in Zheyin Shan region, Malipo County, Yunnan Province, military sources said here. The fighting took place this morning. The region is inhabited by the Miao, Zhuang and other minority groups. In recent years the Vietnamese troops seized Chinese border areas in the region by nibbling operations and built strongholds there. They fired at Chinese peasants and carried out other sabotage activities, seriously threatening the lives and property of the local people. Yesterday Chinese forces in Yunnan also saw continued action against Vietnamese forces at Laoshan, where fighting broke out last weekend. Many attacks launched by Vietnamese troops who tried to retake the Chinese border area were driven back. [Text] [OW301610 Beijing XINHUA in English 1603 GMT 30 Apr 84]

CSO: 4000/342

EAST REGION

JIANGSU PUBLISHER EMPHASIZES POLITICAL THEORY, MATERIALS FOR YOUTH

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Jiangsu People's Publishing House has put particular emphasis on the publication of popular reading materials on political theories and reading materials for young people. They have published over 130 works on basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism as well as educational reading materials for youth, which promote patriotism and communism. In all, they published 14,380,000 volumes, among which more than 30 works were reprints.

Guided by a publication policy of "serving the people and socialism," this publishing house has boldly published political reading materials on the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In the last few years, some people have had an unclear understanding of the necessity of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the superiority of the socialist system, and have spread their incorrect opinions. In the light of this situation, the Jiangsu People's Publishing House has strengthened its propagation of a basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and its four basic tenets, and has published such works as "Ma-Liezhuyi Jichu Zhishi Congshu" [Basic Knowledge of Marxism-Leninism series]. The publication of these texts will play a positive role in clearing up the confused ideas of certain comrades and strengthen people's belief in communism.

When publishing these reading materials, they put emphasis on closely combining theory and practice, doing everything possible to publish reading materials that were suited to the requirements of their readers, with special emphasis on helping young readers to establish the correct outlook on life, and fostering noble ethical values. They published the set of books "Qingchun Manhua" [Informal Talks with Youth], among which were such materials as "Gongchanzhuyi Daode Xintan" [New Explorations of Communist Ethics], "Rang Shengming Geng You Yiyi" [Give Life Greater Significance], "Wenming Limao Qiantan" [An Elementary Discussion of Civilized Manners], all of which were welcomed by readers. In the last 2 years, the publishing house has also published works such as "Ben Xiang Shijie De Ren" [The Man Who Marches Towards the World] and "Haiwai Guilai" [Return From Overseas] in order to promote patriotism in the readers.

In publishing materials on political theories, they maintained top quality, making every effort to achieve the correct point of view, to do thorough analysis, and to use pure and fresh language.

Encountering important theoretical questions and questions of policy, they took a very cautious attitude, checking at each level of a strict examination system. Their published works, "Zhengzhi Jingjixue Rumen" [An introduction to Political Economics] and "Dazhong Huobixue" [Popular Monetary Science] won first place and second place respectively in the first national public selection of popular theoretical political reading materials. Other works, such as "Ziran Bianzhengfa" [Dialectics of Nature] and "Cong Heigeer, Feuerbaha Dao Makesi" [From Hegel and Feuerbach to Marx], were chosen as outstanding books and outstanding achievements of research by national research units and research associations. Books such as "Kexue Shehuizhuyi Gailun" [An Introduction to Scientific Socialism] and "Makesizhuyi Zhexue" [The Philosophy of Marxism] have been listed as educational materials by national or local Party schools and institutions of higher education. "Wei Gongchanzhuyi Lixiang Xianshen--Ji Weida De Makesi" [Devotion to the Ideals of Communism--Remember the Great Marx] and 11 other books were chosen for the recommended booklist of the reading activities by the central authorities of the Communist Youth League of China and some provinces and cities, respectively.

12534
CSO: 4005/450

EAST REGION

JIANGSU SYMPOSIUM ON PINGTAN PERFORMANCES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] Yesterday morning, the Jiangsu branch of the Folk Art Association convened a symposium in Nanjing to exchange and study what they had learned from "Chen Yun Tongzhi Guanyu Pingtan De Tanhua He Tongxin" [Comrade Chen Yun's Talks and Letters on Pingtan]. Everyone considered that Comrade Chen Yun's [7115 7189] instructions on pingtan [6097 1734: story telling and ballad singing in Suzhou dialect] to have caused it to flourish and develop, while they also had profound significance for resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution and establishing socialist spiritual civilization.

Comrade Li Jin [2621 6651], chairman of the Provincial Literary and Art Federation, said Comrade Chen Yun's instructions on pingtan are very important for our leading comrades on the cultural front, as he pointed out that we must act in accordance with artistic laws, lead the literary and art ranks well and "take the correct road of creating talents and stories." Comrade Zhou Liang [0719 5328], the chairman of the Provincial Folk Art Association, who took part in editing the book "Comrade Chen Yun's Talks and Letters on Pingtan," said that Comrade Chen Yun is farsighted and keenly attentive to work in the literary and art fields. He has often talked with cadres and performers, investigating and researching deeply, grasping the special qualities and laws of the art of pingtan, and expressing numerous valuable opinions, from which we have received a profound education.

Earnestly carrying out Comrade Chen Yun's instructions of "taking the correct road of creating talents and stories" is the key to promoting pingtan and making it flourish and develop. Zhang Xiaoyao [1728 1420 1031] and Xu Linda [1776 2651 6671], of the Nanjing Unit Frontline Song and Dance Troupe, said, in literary and art circles, if we want to resist the tendency toward liberalization and commercialization in literature and art, we should resist and eliminate spiritual pollution. If we want the literary and art ranks to uphold the goals of serving the people and socialism, we must earnestly carry out comrade Chen Yun's instructions concerning "taking the correct road of creating talents and stories." Pingtan performer Yang Naizhen [2799 0035 3791], inspired by personal experience in taking books into the countryside, said there is an audience for pingtan in southern Jiangsu, and as Party literary and art workers, we must adhere to the orientation of "the two serves," by sending books into out-of-the-way rural areas to act as light cavalry for pingtan to satisfy the audiences' needs.

Zu Xiaoting [6735 1420 1656], of the provincial folk art troupe, said if we want to promote pingtan, creative work is fundamental. At present, we should put effort into composing and performing modern works at the same time that we are sorting out the traditional book titles, in order to let the good titles fill the books and the flowers of the art of pingtan bloom more beautifully. The well-known pingtan performer, Hou Lijun [0186 5461 0689], reviewed in her speech the complications experienced during the creation of the Hou Diao [0186 6148] school of changqiang [0788 5204]. She felt deeply that no one had shown greater concern for the cause of pingtan than Comrade Chen Yun. She said, in bringing forth new ideas in the art of pingtan, every kind of restriction must certainly be eradicated. Only when schools of changqiang inherit a foundation, can there be talk of development. She is determined to pass on her experience and make many contributions to the cause of pingtan.

12534

CSO: 4005/450

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI CONFERENCE ON IMPLEMENTING INTELLECTUAL POLICY

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jan 84 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Municipal Committee Holds Conference to Implement Work on Intellectual Policy"]

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee recently convened a conference of responsible comrades of departments, commissions, offices and prefectures to transmit and study the major directives of the Party Central Committee concerning implementation of the policy on intellectuals, and moreover made arrangements for research on implementation of the "Circular Concerning a Sincere Investigation of Conditions for Implementing the Policy on Intellectuals" of the Party Central Committee's organization departments, propaganda departments and united front work departments. The conference requested that all levels of party committees and their organizational, propaganda and united front departments all follow the spirit of this "Circular" from the three departments during the first half of the year in making a one-time reinvestigation into the conditions of implementing the policy on intellectuals. The conference resolved to set up a municipal party group to implement the policy on intellectuals in order to supervise and investigate departmental implementation of the policy on intellectuals and to coordinate the activities of implementing this policy. Comrade Yang Di [2799 1029], Municipal Party Committee Secretary, spoke at the conference.

It was pointed out at the conference that since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Committee, all departments and units in the municipality have performed no small amount of work and have achieved certain results. However, there still are many problems in work on intellectuals, as some departments and units have low opinions of knowledge and intellectuals and have a low opinion of the important function of science and technology in construction of the four modernizations. Consequently, it is necessary to make progress in clarifying and in sincerely implementing the policy on intellectuals. This is an important action for implementing the great strategic goals of the Twelfth Party Committee, an important issue in maintaining consistency between the government and the party central committee, an important indication of excellent leadership work in a department or a unit, and also is an important component of the current simultaneous consolidation and reform of all levels of party organizations. The joint circular of the party central committee's organizational, propaganda and united front work departments has pointed out six areas of issues that are the focus of this investigation. The cases that the Party Central Committee and the

municipal party committee leading comrades have instructed that be handled should be individually investigated and thoroughly resolved. Problems regarding the intellectuals which are in accordance with the policy and which have conditions permitting resolution should be sincerely handled within a given period. For those cases that cannot be resolved immediately, concrete views should be expressed and each case should have reliable sources and should have responses forthcoming.

Each department, commission and office and the concerned departments of each prefecture, county and bureau should select and transfer capable cadres, and should organize the old cadres who already have retreated to the second and third fronts but who still have good health and enthusiasm for intellectual work. They should organize investigation teams, become closely involved with each unit and simultaneously make investigations and resolve issues. It is advocated that suitable methods be selected for adoption by the CPPCC and it is also suggested that various democratic parties, factions and organizations be invited to participate in the investigative work. In the investigation, those units and leaders which work properly should be commended, while those who refuse to carry out party policy on intellectuals and people who persist in slighting, harming and attacking intellectuals should be investigated and accused, and in severe cases they should be transferred or even subjected to legal punishments.

11582

CSO: 4005/453

EAST REGION

NANJING PAPER CAUTIONS LEADERS ON ATTITUDES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] The current Party consolidation is being carried out on the basis of organizational reform. The consolidation of the first Party units in the provincial level organizations is to be led by the new post-adjustment leading bodies. Whether or not the Party consolidation will be carried out perfunctorily depends on whether the leading members of the new leading bodies can be exemplary in their leading roles, can rigorously analyze themselves, can engage in sincere, profound, and realistic self-criticism, and moreover, can correct mistakes while rectifying and reforming and have a direct influence on the morale and faith on those inside and outside our party.

However, at present there are those who say "there is no big problem with new leading bodies and new leading forces." This statement implies that "there is nothing to rectify."

If one says "there is no big problem" with new leading bodies, naturally there must be a certain reason. When they first assume their leadership positions, generally speaking they have relatively few bureaucratic styles of work and mistakes of seeking personal gains through one's high position. Yet if one says that there is not a single problem with new leading bodies and new forces, going so far as to say "there is nothing to rectify," this is not in conformity with the facts. "In a foot of wood, there must be a knot; in an inch of jade, there must be a flaw." Even if you are a flawless white jade, you must still undergo repeated cutting and polishing to become useful. Our comrades should certainly have self-knowledge and not be intoxicated with self-satisfaction.

In terms of leading Party cadres at all levels, the current Party consolidation is primarily a problem of correcting one's thinking on the political line, which means maintaining the same high level in ideology and politics as the Party Central Committee. Even this one item is worth our conscientious effort in comparing and stating it. Think about it: are you in complete agreement with the Party Central Committee at all times and on all problems? Do you dare to take a clear-cut stand in resisting and struggling against the incorrect deviations of "Left" and Right Party lines that violated the four basic tenets and ran counter to the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee? Ask yourself this: when you maintain unanimity with the Party Central Committee on politics, is it a unanimity in words alone, an officialese-style of unanimity, or is it,

under the guiding tenet of "seeking truth from facts," a unanimity arising from the correspondence between the Central Committee spirit and your own actual work? Learning lessons through summing up our experiences, we can more consciously and creatively carry out the Party line, its goal and its policies. This problem is of primary importance in the current Party consolidation, and should certainly be resolved satisfactorily. Otherwise, even if we resolve the problems involved in the rectification of incorrect styles of work, the Party consolidation will still be carried out perfunctorily.

It remains to be seen if the new leading bodies will strive to create a new situation through new attitudes. This should be achieved by "discussing the major issues, knowing the entire situation, and managing your own profession." "Discussing the major issues" means frequently discussing the affairs of the state and the Party. The present affairs are the 12 major proposals for achieving the 4 modernizations, a higher level of civilization, and a more highly democratic socialist state; this means that we should work hard to realize the magnificent goal of quadrupling the gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century; it means within the next 5 years we will make a radical turn for the better in the financial and economic situation and in social and Party styles; and it means resolutely carrying out article No 1 by vigorously promoting the development of job responsibility system in agricultural production and every type of specialized household and unswervingly carrying out "the policy of enriching the people." Only by discussing these major issues often, will our leading cadres be able to look ahead with wisdom and operate from a strategically advantageous position in leading the masses to create a new situation. "Knowing the entire situation" means no matter what front of endeavor, no matter what profession you are engaged in, you must subordinate yourself to serving the overall goal and the overall task. You should consider and arrange your own work in the light of the entire situation and not be confined to your own little world by your own ideological limitations, only planning for the temporary gains and losses of your own unit, with no concern for the success or failure of the entire situation. "Managing your own profession" means you should base yourself on your own job and be proficient in your own profession, while vigorously promoting every type of constructive profession. Since the task of creating a new situation is so great and the demands so high, no cadre can say of himself that he is already fully competent, but on the contrary, there will be a great number of new situations and new tasks for which he personally will be unsuited. Our comrades might as well compare, in terms of their spiritual condition, and see whether or not they have the kind of drive to advance bravely, to advance despite difficulties, and to have the courage to confront the tough situation; or just the opposite, if they only have those kinds of "limited viewpoints," which are "timid" and "mean spirited." In their style of work, do they have the courage to make reforms, the bravery to create, and the skill to investigate new problems, to study new knowledge, and explore new avenues; or on the contrary, do they have the habit of copying word for word and indiscriminately imitating higher level instructions and being content in passing their time with official documents? In terms of management efficiency, do they have a full complement of scientific leadership methods and the art of leadership and do they pay considerable attention to work efficiency and work quality; or on the contrary, do they bury their heads in "a mountain of documents and a sea of meetings" as before and are they unable to

extricate themselves? Provided that we examine the requirements of creating a new situation one by one, it will not be difficult to discern that in this Party consolidation, with regard to new leading bodies, there is certainly not "nothing to rectify."

At present, for the numerous comrades who have just stepped into leadership positions in the new leading bodies, the first lesson is Party consolidation, to accept the Party's rigorous training and education, listen respectfully to the repeated admonitions and instructions of the Party, and ask for sincere criticism and help from their comrades. This is truly "a rare opportunity." By going through Party consolidation, the new cadres will receive long term benefits and make themselves grow healthily.

12534

CSO: 4005/450

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI RECTIFIES UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES IN HOUSING

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Party Committee and Discipline Inspection Commission Correct Unhealthy Tendencies in Housing Construction and Allocation"]

[Text] Since the fourth quarter of 1983, the Shanghai CPC Municipal Committee and the Preparations Committee of the Municipal Party Commission for the Inspection of Discipline have strengthened leadership in the rectification of unhealthy tendencies in the construction and allocation of housing. They explicitly asked that starting in 1983, all levels of party committees produce clear-cut results to enable this work project to make new progress. By the end of last year, the whole city had already revealed through "open letters" 653 cadres having 5 categories of problems, and 399 of these have already been handled. In the whole city, 4,377 square meters of housing have already been returned, and 44,674 yuan of funds have been recovered.

Under the leadership of the municipal party committee, all levels of party committees and the commission for the inspection of discipline united the study of the Party Central Committee resolution on party consolidation and "The Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping." Rectification of the unhealthy tendencies in the construction and allocation of housing was given an important position on the agenda, they sincerely took up the matter with a spirit of facing up to difficulties, and they became involved with problems relating to some cadres that had been carried over from the previous period. Many units transferred cadres, who then quickly comprehended conditions, summed up experiences, and moreover helped the slower units speed up transformation of conditions. Jinshan county originally was slow in handling "open letters" and was criticized by the party. The leading comrades of the municipal, rural and village party committees and the commission for the inspection of discipline personally went to this county to promote and help the county party committee in conducting criticism and self-criticism, which enabled this county to make relatively great advances in carrying out the "open letter" work. By this time, the housing conditions of the principal leadership cadres of the 10 counties and 7 bureaus and offices under the municipal, rural and village party committees have basically been checked into: 18 are required to leave their housing and 9 have already done so; 15 must pay additional and 13 have already made the increased payments.

In the work of correcting unhealthy tendencies in the construction and allocation of leading cadre housing, all levels of party committees and commissions for the inspection of discipline thoroughly investigated and handled the work on the five types of problems for leading cadres ranking above prefecture, county and bureau level. A general investigation of the housing of leading cadres of bureau-grade level in the 12 bureaus under control of the municipal transportation party committee revealed that 7 people used authority for personal gain and practiced unhealthy tendencies. The transportation party committee convened two meetings to discuss the problem, and when there were results from the investigation they analyzed the matter and made the necessary corrections. The municipal industrial party committee also held special meetings to conduct analyses of the 10-some bureau-grade cadres in this system whose problems had already been investigated, and they gave their views on the disposition of these matters. At this time, 8 of them have already been corrected.

The Preparations Committee of the Municipal Commission for the Inspection of Discipline together with the municipal construction party committee and the party committees for municipal--controlled organs acted in accordance with the concerned regulations of the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline and assigned cadres to make up two investigation groups. They separately went to the municipal housing and land bureau and the management bureau for municipal organs and affairs to help the party committees and commission for inspection of discipline carry out investigations into the issues of construction and allocation of housing. After making an investigation, they uncovered and punished a few party members and cadres who had engaged in the unhealthy tendencies of using their authority for personal gain. Zhang Qi [1728 3825] a cadre party member manager of special housing requirements for the municipal housing and land bureau and Jiang Bingsheng [5592 3521 3932] the party member cadre of the Fourth Branch Company of the Municipal Housing Sources Development Corporation used their authority to demand and personally appropriate housing from the housing construction units. The concerned party organizations decided to place them on inner-party probation for one year and gave them strong inner-party warnings. The housing they occupied was returned. Each prefecture and county also sent investigation teams from the attached housing management groups to check into the problems of some party members using their authority to provide themselves or their children, relatives or friends with housing or bigger or better housing.

At present, there still is no small amount of work to be done in rectifying the unhealthy tendencies in the construction and allocation of housing, especially in the area of slow and obstructed progress in handling the problems which already have been revealed. The Preparations Team for the Municipal Commission for the Inspection of Discipline requested that all levels of party committees and the commission for the inspection of discipline simultaneously carry out consolidation and reform, continue to closely investigate unhealthy tendencies in housing construction and allocations, and have a good beginning and a good conclusion.

11582

CSO: 4005/453

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI PARTY SECRETARY ANALYZES FOUR IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Feb 84 p 1

[Article: "Article by Yang Di Analyzing Four Current Ideological Problems in Party Consolidation"]

[Text] The CPC Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Secretary Yang Di [2799 1029] published an article which pointed out that in this party consolidation each CPC member must sincerely study, enthusiastically conduct criticism and self-criticism and strive to live up to the name of qualified communist party member. No matter whether or new party member or whether cadre or regular member, there are no exceptions. This article was titled "Actively Participate in the Party Consolidation and Live up to the Name of Party Member" and was published in the recent issue of the Shanghai "Zhibu Shenghuo-Branch Party Life," No. 3:1, 1984.

Comrade Yang Di said that at this time party consolidation work emphasizes correct study. From an overall view, all levels of municipal party organizations are emphasizing study of party consolidation and they are fairly good at handling it. The broad party membership and cadres in their study are sincere and successful and make good progress. Study improves their understanding of the necessity and urgency of party consolidation, strengthens consciousness of participating in party consolidation, and strengthens faith in properly carrying out the consolidation. Their study implemented the spirit of simultaneous study and discussion and simultaneous reform and consolidation in resolving some problems that were prominent and which could quickly be resolved. However, these studies did not have balanced development. The article analyzed the four incorrect ideological problems which now appear in certain units and in certain party members, i.e., the theories of "unquestionable qualification," "personal non-involvement," "putting off the agony of consolidation," and "a lack of faith." Moreover, they made three demands of all levels of municipal party organizations and all CPC members, namely:

1. Adopt a correct attitude, improve understanding and strengthen awareness. The article pointed out that we must study the spirit that Comrade Deng Xiaoping always has had in completely and precisely studying and understanding documents, rather than fixing on one or two statements and one or two articles or by concentrating great energy on reading guiding materials. It is necessary to emphasize study of original works and original documents and clearly

understand the spiritual essence of the originals. The process of comprehending underlying spiritual essence and ideological foundation provides the reader with a unification of actual conditions and issues in his environment, provides straightforward, lively discussions and strives to clarify muddled understanding and mistaken thought. This makes the process of study into one of bringing order out of chaos, purifying spiritual pollution and strengthening party character.

2. Firmly implement the policy of simultaneous consolidation and reform. The article pointed out that simultaneous consolidation and reform emphasizes two major features: one is rectification of the unhealthy tendency of taking advantage of authority and work conditions for personal benefit; and the other is to rectify the unhealthy tendency of bureaucratic irresponsibility toward the party and the people. In terms of the broad CPC membership they ought to use their role model function in all aspects of work and life; they ought to use the 8 obligations of party members and the 6 basic requirements whereby cadres evaluate themselves; and they ought to demand of themselves a conscious rectification of their various shortcomings and errors.

3. It is necessary to have firm faith in communism, and moreover to conduct oneself in a manner that lives up to the name of CPC member. The article pointed that for a staunch CPC member, no matter how rough the road ahead may be or how many obstacles are encountered, faith in the inevitable victory of communism cannot waver. We must take up the historical task of transforming the objective world, must consciously and continually transform the subjective world, establish the ideology of wholehearted service to the people all the while placing the revolution, work and the people in the most important position, and, moreover, in actual practice one should carry out what one advocates. At present, it is first necessary to make an effort in every task of completing all aspects of party consolidation.

11582

CSO: 4005/453

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUBEI HOLDS PUBLIC SECURITY AWARD RALLY

HK131322 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] The provincial victory and prize-giving rally of the public security front opened in Wuchang this morning. This rally is being held under the excellent situation in which the first battle to strike severe blows at crime has been won. The representatives of 35 collectives and 150 individuals who are attending this rally, have made outstanding contributions in the course of striking stern blows at crime. Some of them are investigation personnel who are brave and resourceful in struggling against the stubborn enemy and who dash ahead to arrest criminals regardless of their own safety. Some are personnel who conduct preliminary inquiry and guard prisoners and who are good at trying to persuade offenders to confess, carry out penetrating and careful investigation, and constantly exploit the victory. Some are people's policemen engaged in public security work who work hard to ensure the safety of the masses, do their best to educate and redeem erring youths and juveniles, and make marked achievements. Some are logistics personnel who achieve extraordinary successes at ordinary posts. Some are guard cadres and public security personnel who are steadfast in their stand and clearly distinguish between the enemy and ourselves. Their deeds radiate with communist light and embody the spirit of people's policemen--being bold in bringing forth new ideas and opening up a path, devoting themselves to the four modernizations, and reinvigorating China.

Li Jun, Standing Committee member of the provincial CPC committee and secretary of the provincial Political and Legal Committee; and responsible comrades of PLA units stationed in Wuhan and units concerned at the provincial level attended the rally to extend greetings.

CSO: 4005/567

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMITTEE WORK CONFERENCE

HK170832 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 14 Apr 84

[Text] From the 4th to the 10th this month, the discipline inspection committee of the regional CPC committee held a work conference in Nanning in order to relay and implement the spirit of the work conference and the conference on examining open letters held by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, to study the problem of making a notable turn for the better in party style in this year's party rectification drive within the region, and to make preparations for the work. Deputy Secretary Jin Baosheng of the regional CPC committee spoke at the conference.

At the conference, the present condition of the party style of the region's CPC committees was analyzed. It was maintained that last year, as a result of the implementation of the spirit of the second plenary session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, party committees at and above the county level made comparisons in regard to party style, launched a comprehensive drive to crack down on and combat serious economic and criminal offenses, vigorously checked unhealthy tendencies and, in particular, through the handling of the problems left over by the Cultural Revolution, corrected things regarding ideological and political matters, and weeded out [wing li] people of three categories. Consequently, there was a turn for the better in party style in the region. The turn for the better in party style gave a boost to economic construction and brought about another turn for the better in society. Throughout the region, there was a stable and united political situation. However, in the region there has not been a radical turn for the better in party style and there are still many problems within the party. Party committees at all levels should pay close attention to them and adopt measures to solve them. It was pointed out at the conference that this year is a crucial year in which overall party rectification must be carried out as well as in the second year in which we strived to effect a radical turn for the better in party style. Party committees and discipline inspection commissions at all levels were asked, in accordance with the spirit of the conferences held by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and on the basis of the conditions of the region, to pay close attention to the following tasks:

1. With the party committees taking the lead, the whole party should pay close attention to party style. Party committees at one level are to be responsible for the party style at that level and the responsibility system is to be practiced at all levels.
2. Resolutely uphold the party's political discipline and ensure that the whole party acts in unison with the CPC Central Committee in ideological and political affairs.
3. Resolutely check the unhealthy tendency to seek personal gains by capitalizing on one's power as well as bureaucracy and decentralism. It is necessary to complete before July the investigation and handling of the unhealthy tendencies in building and distributing houses and living quarters. How well these unhealthy tendencies have been investigated and handled will be thoroughly examined in August. Those bureaucrats who have seriously neglected their duties or who have incurred heavy losses in state property must be severely handled on the basis of the circumstances and according to party discipline and state laws.
4. Continue to thoroughly combat and crack down on the serious criminal activities in the economic sphere and speedily and severely punish the offenders of serious economic crimes.
5. Strengthen discipline and education and raise the party members sense of discipline.
6. Pay close attention to and make a success of the building of discipline inspection organs, and adjust and strengthen the contingents of discipline inspection cadres.
7. Further improve the discipline inspection department work style and method.

The conference emphasized that the party's discipline inspection departments are shouldering arduous responsibilities. Party committees at all levels should strengthen their leadership over discipline inspection work and give vigorous support to the work of the discipline inspection departments. At present, it is especially necessary to pay close attention to supplying the discipline inspection departments with good leading bodies and discipline inspection cadres before all others. In this way, they can meet the demands of their work.

CSO: 4005/567

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

SECRETARY ON STRENGTHENING, REFORMING EDUCATION

HK170718 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 14 Apr 84

[Text] On 12 April, speaking on the creation of a new situation in the region's education at the regional conference on educational, scientific, and technological work, Secretary (Yu Mingyuan) of the party branch of the regional educational office pointed out the need to strengthen and reform, on the basis of actual conditions, the region's educational work.

Comrade (Yu Mingyuan) pointed out: Education in the region has developed tremendously since liberation. However, compared with the advanced provinces and autonomous regions, we still have a long way to go. We must develop education as soon as possible. The region's educational work in the 1980's is principally to lay a solid foundation and to make, in terms of gifted people, preparations for the even greater economic development of the region in the 1990's. Thus, it is necessary to basically popularize primary education by stages and in groups before 1990. In developing education for minority nationalities, it is necessary to begin with primary education and to vigorously support the development of primary education in those impoverished communes. It is necessary to work out and calculate various ratios in secondary education and to make the number of students enrolled in various kinds of vocational schools roughly equal to the number of students enrolled in ordinary secondary schools. It is necessary to speed up the development of higher education, which should be centered on special training courses, television universities, and those special fields of study which are in great demand. In addition, it is necessary to vigorously develop adult education.

Concerning the region's educational reforms, Comrade (Yu Mingyuan) said: Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that education should be geared to the needs of the modernizations, the needs of the world, and the needs of the future. This should be the guide for our reforms. The purpose of the reforms is to enable education to more successfully meet the needs of our region's economic construction and social development and to push forward traditional education in the direction of modern education. In carrying out the region's educational reforms, it is necessary to emancipate thinking and to carry them out in a guided and orderly manner. It is necessary not to rely on the state alone in setting up schools. We should rely on the community in setting up schools. We should help enterprises, collectives, and

individuals set up schools. Schools should practice the part-work, part-study system. It is necessary to reform the educational system and its structure and to set up all kinds of schools at all levels. Our education should include not only the regular full-time day schools and ordinary education. It is also necessary to provide various kinds of in-service training for those who are released or not released from work for study and to develop vocational and technical education and television, radio, and correspondence education. It is necessary to reform the subjects and teaching methods of traditional education and to pay close attention to enabling the students to develop morally, intellectually, and physically. It is also necessary to pay attention to imparting to the students new scientific and technological knowledge and to strengthening the fostering of the students' intellectual capacity. It is necessary to improve teachers' knowledge as soon as possible and to teach them modern knowledge and modern teaching methods. In the schools, it is necessary to practice the system of responsibilities for leadership and the workers should practice the system of personal responsibility in order to gradually put an end to the phenomenon of eating from the same big pot. The quality of the teachers of the primary and secondary schools should be gradually improved by means of strict assessment, making adjustments at each level, and replenishment. Less university graduates but more post graduate students should be recruited as teachers of institutions of higher education.

CSO: 4005/567

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUNAN MEETING ON MINORITY NATIONALITY AREAS ENDS

HK161403 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Apr 84

[Text] The provincial conference on production and livelihood in the province's minority nationality areas which lasted 7 days, concluded in Changsha this afternoon. This conference, which was the first of its kind in the province since 1949, was devoted to a special study on production and livelihood of the masses in minority nationality areas.

The conference relayed and studied the spirit of the national conference on production and livelihood in minority nationality areas. Entrusted by the provincial government, Vice Governor Cao Wenju made a report to the conference; Zhang Wenkuang, consultant of the provincial people's government, and responsible comrades of the provincial discipline inspection committee, economic commission, science and technology commission, nationality affairs commission, finance department, forestry bureau, water conservancy and hydro-electricity department, and commerce department attended the conference and made speeches. During the session, 23 units introduced their experiences in developing production and getting rich through hard work.

The conference held discussions on how to further relax policies, step up the pace of economic development in minority nationality areas, and improve the livelihood of the masses. It was held that the economic development in minority nationality areas is of great significance in promoting the common prosperity of all nationalities, and in stepping up the pace of the economic development of the whole province.

The conference stressed further heightening the understanding of the cadres, in particular leading cadres at all levels, in the great significance of the economic development in minority nationality areas. It is necessary to persist in the principle of seeking truth from facts, to bring into full play the advantages of minority nationality areas, and to develop production by suiting measures to local conditions. It is also necessary to further relax the policies, including the specific policies in forestry, industry, nationality trade, finance and so on. All localities and departments should help minority nationalities to develop production with manpower, materials, and financial powers. They should all do some down-to-earth work for the various construction causes in minority nationality areas.

CSO: 4005/567

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

MEETING DISCUSSES POLICIES ON INTELLECTUALS

HK171037 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Apr 84

[Text] This morning, the provincial CPC committee held a meeting for CPC leaders of the organs directly under the provincial authorities to make arrangements for the work in the next stage in examining the implementation of the party's policies toward intellectuals.

Shen Yinluo, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, made an important speech. He asked that the organs directly under the provincial authorities and other relevant departments grasp the work of examining the implementation of the party's policies toward intellectuals as soon as possible and in a down-to-earth manner, so as to continuously set a good example for the whole province. After summing up the achievements made over the past few years in this respect, Shen Yinluo pointed out some existing problems. For example, in some units, the intellectuals are not trusted politically or are even discriminated against, attacked, and obstructed in their work. They feel that nobody supports their work, and their working and living conditions are poor.

Shen Yinluo said that at present, a new upsurge in the technological revolution has emerged in the world. In order to meet the needs of this situation, it is necessary to rely on the broad masses of intellectuals who have a higher cultural and scientific level. Intellectual work is work concerning our strategy and the overall situation.

In our province, about 70 percent of the intellectuals of the higher and middle classes are working in organs directly under the provincial authorities and departments in Wuhan area. These departments and units play a decisive role in carrying out intellectual work. Leaders at all levels and comrades in charge of personnel work must regard intellectual work as an important aspect of simultaneous rectification and correction of defects in party rectification and must conscientiously implement the party's policies toward intellectuals during the rectification. They must grasp this work firmly and realistically.

Shen Yinluo made some concrete suggestions for examining the implementation of the party's policies toward intellectuals in the organs directly under the provincial authorities and in various departments in Wuhan area. One

of his suggestions was to enhance awareness in implementing the policies toward intellectuals and mainly examine the work of using young and middle-aged professional cadres. It is necessary to grasp both positive and negative examples and divide the work among responsible cadres. Those who do not implement the policies well will be criticized. Nobody is allowed to boycott the implementation of these policies. Only in this way can more achievements be made in carrying out intellectual work.

CSO: 4005/567

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN CALLS FOR IMPLEMENTING INTELLECTUAL POLICY

HK191515 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 18 Apr 84

[Commentary by Henan Radio and Television News Center: "Why Do the Policies Toward Intellectuals Fail To Be Implemented in Xuchang City?"]

[Text] After hearing the investigation report on the tendency of intellectuals in Xuchang to leave the city, people cannot help but look back and ponder on the issue.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has laid down a series of correct principles and policies toward intellectuals, and the party organizations and governments at all levels have devoted much effort to the implementation of the policies toward intellectuals and have made quite remarkable achievements. However, judging from the situation in various places, we can see that there is a noticeable imbalance in the progress of the implementation of the policies toward intellectuals. Some areas, departments, and units have carried out the policies toward intellectuals in a perfunctory manner, and there is still a long way to go in order to create an atmosphere of valuing knowledge and respecting capable people. In a small number of places and units, intellectuals have continued to be discriminated against and persecuted.

One of the important reasons why the party's policies toward intellectuals have failed to be implemented in Xuchang City over the years is the pernicious influence of the leftist thinking. While the CPC Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized the importance of the implementation of the policies toward intellectuals, some people have thought that the party has unduly favored intellectuals. They have always cast doubt upon the valuable role of intellectuals. When an intellectual who was graduated from a university in the 1960's and was eager to do better applied for membership of the CPC after being appointed to a leading post, he received a negative reply noting that his request showed his inordinate ambitions. Their erroneous impression of intellectuals is the origin of their bad habits of despising, abhorring, and distrusting intellectuals. And such thinking has even encouraged them to cause trouble for or persecute intellectuals. Such disruption caused by the leftist thinking is an issue worth attention in implementing the policies toward intellectuals at present.

The party's policies toward intellectuals are a firmly established Marxist guiding principle that has long been adopted by the party. The implementation of the party's principles and policies is a matter of principled importance to ensure that we are keeping politically in line with the party central authorities and is also an important problem to be tackled in the party rectification. Eliminating the influence of leftist thinking and taking a correct attitude toward intellectuals are a prerequisite for the implementation of the policies toward intellectuals.

Another important reason why the party's policies toward intellectuals have failed to be implemented in Xuchang City is that some leading comrades of the city are poorly educated. Thus it is hard for them to understand the party's policies toward intellectuals and to realize the hardship of acquiring knowledge. Therefore, they can barely forsake their prejudice against intellectuals. When pointing out that cadres are required to have a good command of the expertise of their own careers, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: If you fail to learn or refuse to learn, you will have to be removed from your present posts. There is no other choice since you are holding up our cause!

The implementation of the party's policies toward intellectuals is a task of prime importance for the whole party. It calls for a thorough examination and allows no perfunctory practice. A conscientious examination must be carried out particularly in scientific research units, universities and colleges, medical service units, major hospitals, cultural units, major performance troupes, major cultural relic units, and libraries. The responsible people, particularly the No. 1 and No. 2 persons, of these units must absolutely be removed as soon as possible if they are poorly educated and fail to understand the party's policies toward intellectuals. And the vacancies are to be filled by other comrades who are better educated and clearly understand the policies. Those who refuse to carry out the party's policies toward intellectuals and insist on being hostile to, causing trouble for, and persecuting intellectuals must be seriously criticized and educated and be transferred to other posts. Those among them who have made grave mistakes must also be seriously penalized.

The implementation of the party's political line can only be ensured by a correct organizational guideline. And the implementation of the party's policies also depends on a correct organizational guideline. If we can make up our minds to take organizational measures, we will be able to firmly guarantee the implementation of the policies toward intellectuals. Now is the time for Xuchang City, as well as other departments and units which are faced with similar problems, to conscientiously implement the policies toward intellectuals. Are these departments and units going to let the party's policies toward intellectuals light up the life of intellectuals? People are looking forward to their actions in response to this appeal.

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

BA YI ON PRC POLICIES TOWARD U.S., USSR

OW041115 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1150 GMT 3 Apr 84

[Text] This year, the foreign affairs activities of our country are more active than ever. In January, Premier Zhao Ziyang visited the United States and Canada. In mid-February, Wan Li led a delegation to Moscow to attend the funeral of Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In late February [as heard], President Li Xiannian visited a number of countries. In early March, Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen went to Moscow to consult on the question of normalizing Sino-USSR relations. In late March, Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone visited China. In April, U.S. President Reagan will come to Beijing for a visit. A deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is slated to come to our country for talks in May.

From these frequent foreign affairs activities, it would seem that China was pursuing a completely independent foreign policy, and practicing a balanced diplomacy between the two superpowers. In reality, however, the emphasis of our diplomatic activities is on the United States and other capitalist countries. What is more, the trend of leaning to one side is becoming increasingly apparent. On a number of international issues, we have more often than not followed the United States. As for Sino-Soviet relations, the contacts have been merely formalistic. For example, normalization talks have made no substantive progress for years. This style of work is poles apart from our party's established foreign affairs principle, namely, China's foreign policy is independent, and is not affected by any country, or any bloc of countries.

Due to the unprincipled efforts to gain friendship with the United States, we have been overcautious in our words and deeds, for fear of offending the U.S. ruling clique. For instance, the U.S. imperialists feel quite uneasy when hearing such words as "communist" and "socialist," and because of this, when some of our central leaders talk with leaders of the United States and other capitalist countries, they merely describe China as the biggest developing country. It stands to reason that the Taiwan issue should be regarded as an immense obstacle to the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations; however, it has not hampered the development of relations between the two countries. The United States has been openly carrying out a "two Chinas" policy, and intervening in our country's internal affairs by ranting

that it will never throw over its old friend--Taiwan--and describing Taiwan as an unsinkable U.S. carrier. All this directly impairs China's dignity, and poses a threat to the security of our country. Nonetheless, some central leading comrades have said the following repeatedly, even in their recent remarks: Friendship between China and the United States is of great value and enormous strategic significance. On certain issues, it is impossible for China and the United States to share identical views, but they can enhance their mutual understanding by calmly expounding their respective views. In addition, comrade Deng Xiaoping has made this remark: I am most enthusiastic to develop Sino-U.S. relations.

Strange to say, at the same time, and on the same occasion, diametrically opposite remarks were made regarding the question of Sino-Soviet relations. As everyone knows, none of the so-called "three big obstacles" to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations affects our country's interests as directly and seriously as the Taiwan issue. However, some central leading comrades stubbornly insist that the prerequisite for normalizing Sino-Soviet relations is the elimination of the "three big obstacles," and that, failing this, normalization of relations between the two countries is impossible. It should be noted here that U.S. direct intervention in our internal affairs, through its increased efforts to arm the Kuomintang, has not impeded an improvement in Sino-U.S. relations from hostility to normality, and from normality to continually deepening friendship. Is it really so difficult for China and the Soviet Union, two big socialist neighbors, to reach the stage of normalized relations?

Of course, normalization of Sino-Soviet relations would displease the U.S. imperialists. But if we follow the cue of the U.S. Government in dealing with our foreign affairs, then do we still want to keep to our principle of independent diplomacy?

CSO: 4005/566

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

REAGAN'S VISIT TO ALLY WITH PRC AGAINST USSR

OW230955 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1150 GMT 18 Apr 84

[Excerpts] On eve of President Reagan's visit to our country, the U.S. imperialists are singing the same old tune about so-called identical strategic interests of China and the United States in an attempt to make us carry out the so-called strategic cooperation with the United States. Reagan has already indicated that he will discuss such cooperation with the leaders of our country. In his connection, it is necessary to resolutely expose the conspiracies of Reagan and his ilk, the imperialist chieftains.

Everyone should be aware that strategic cooperation with the U.S. imperialists will never bring any good to our country. History has long proved that they have never done anything beneficial for the Chinese people. On the contrary, they have committed all sorts of evil against the people of China and other countries. Especially since Reagan, the most reactionary politician in the United States, took power, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their wicked deeds all over the world.

The U.S. imperialists have also unabashedly and willfully interfered in our country's internal affairs by providing large amount of military assistance to the Kuomintang.

The chieftains of U.S. imperialism have endlessly said that the so-called common goal of the two countries, which is to stop "Soviet expansionism," provides the foundation for their strategic cooperation. This is the same old trick of U.S. imperialism. At the same time, they have unleashed political blackmail against the Soviet Union by indicating that anti-Soviet strategic cooperation between China and the United States will soon materialize. The U.S. imperialists want to use this trick to fulfill their selfish aim. Sino-Soviet confrontation, or intensified relations between China and the Soviet Union, can be advantageous to the U.S. imperialists' fishing profitably in troubled waters. Precisely because of this, the primary purpose of President Reagan's visit to China is to talk the Chinese leaders into taking the road of strategic cooperation with the United States, a road of prolonged confrontation with the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly this road can only benefit the United States while doing damage to China, a situation we cannot tolerate.

On the eve of President Reagan's visit to China, we should firmly bear in mind the line on foreign policy adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress. We must proceed from the vital interests of the Chinese people and never be swayed by any instigator. Anyone who values the interests of the country and the people should adhere to the general line formulated by the party and should never be swayed by any dangerous or ill-intentioned instigator.

CSO: 4005/566

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

BA YI COMMENTS ON U.S.-TAIWAN RELATIONSHIP

OW110403 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1150 GMT 9 Apr 84

[Text] On the basis of the instructions issued by leaders at the central level, the capital is making preparations to solemnly welcome President Reagan's visit to China. People will be instructed to warmly welcome the American guests, in order to give people the impression that the Chinese people hospitably receive the U.S. President and his wife. There will be a grand ceremony in Tiananmen Square to greet the American guests with a salute of 21 guns. Special measures will be taken in the capital to prevent those opposed to President Reagan's visit from staging demonstrations. During President Reagan's visit to China, people, other than Beijing residents, will be restricted from entering the capital.

It is reported that the Taiwan spokesman issued a statement on President Reagan's forthcoming visit to Beijing, saying that the Taiwan Government has already known, in detail, the purpose of this visit, and that President Reagan's visit will damage the existing friendship between the United States and Taiwan.

President Reagan has, more than once, assured the Taiwan authorities that the United States would never betray an old friend. Not long ago, U.S. President Reagan and Vice President Bush sent a joint private letter to the Taiwan authorities, warmly congratulating them on Chiang Ching-kuo's reelection as President of the Republic of China [as heard], and hailing Li Teng-hui's election as Vice President of the Republic of China [as heard]. The letter also said that the American leaders were pleased with current relations between the United States and Taiwan, and proposed to further promote such relations. In order to help the Kuomintang build its own military industry, U.S. imperialism will, in the near future, send 5,000 scientists, engineers and technicians to Taiwan to help the Taiwan authorities. It is reported that the majority of them are Chinese living in the United States. By the end of the 1980's, Taiwan will be able to produce most advanced weapons under license from the U.S.

CSO: 4005/566

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

BA YI CRITICIZES U.S. ARMS SUPPLY TO TAIWAN

OW231149 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1150 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Excerpts] Years ago Chairman Mao sternly criticized those who were obsessed with friendship and assistance from the United States. He pointed out: According to our statistics, the U.S. assistance to China during and after the war totalled \$5,914,000 million. The assistance, which helped Chiang Kai-shek massacre several million Chinese, was the so-called friendship. Now, especially in view of President Reagan's upcoming visit, it is necessary for those who are obsessed with Sino-American friendship to restudy this famous dictum of Chairman Mao.

Reagan and his ilk have on the one hand professed their friendly feelings for the leaders of our country; on the other hand, they have provided a large amount of weapons to the Chiang gang. Reagan and his ilk, the U.S. imperialist swindlers, assert that in accordance with the "Taiwan Relations Act," they are obligated to provide necessary arms and equipment of Taiwan to effectively repel the so-called possible invasion. The U.S. imperialists naturally are aware that they can in no way guarantee the Kuomintang troops' superiority to the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Nevertheless, they have still provided high-quality, high-efficiency arms and technical equipment to Taiwan in an attempt to maintain a balance of firepower between the two sides. They have even provided certain weapons and equipment to Taiwan in order to enable it to gain supremacy.

For this purpose, they have helped Taiwan upgrade its air force and provided it with modern airplanes equipped with powerful weapons and electronic facilities in order to enable the Kuomintang's military planes to obtain the upper hand in flight performance and aerial firepower.

Moreover, the Americans have also vigorously helped Taiwan build up its own military industry by providing it with modern lathes and equipment, patent materials, and relevant blueprints. Some 50,000 scientists, engineers, and special technicians from the United States will arrive soon in Taiwan to help it build up its own military industry.

The U.S. imperialists obviously have conspired to perpetuate the separation of Taiwan from China in order to forever keep Taiwan as a strategic base of the United States. It must also be pointed out that the Kuomintang's

weapons are targeted at our army and our people. In other words, in providing the Chiang gang with the weapons, which will be enough to kill several million Chinese, Reagan has professed his friendship with our country.

We should never trust Reagan's hypocritical remark that he harbors friendly feelings toward the Chinese people. Reagan is an out-and-out political swindler with a honeyed mouth and a dagger in his heart. Those who are prepared to give him a friendly reception should take a clear look at his real countenance.

CSO: 4005/566

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

BA YI EXAMINES REASONS FOR RECENT BORDER CLASHES

OW111101 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1150 GMT 9 Apr 84

[Text] It is not known when some people in the Central Military Commission first developed the phobia of negotiations. This phobia was manifested most keenly in our relations with Vietnam. People who used to abhor the "Quotations From Chairman Mao Zedong" nevertheless cited the following three quotations when Sino-Vietnamese relations were brought up at a recent Central Military Commission meeting: "War breaks out to sweep the obstacles in the political field. When our political aim is attained, the war will stop"; "it is necessary to settle issues by war"; and "destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself."

Obviously, these words were quoted to block negotiations between China and Vietnam. Ordering our artillery units stationed in Fangcheng, Ningming, and (Qingxi) areas to fire on Vietnam's border units' positions exactly reflected their unwillingness to negotiate.

It should be pointed out that nothing in the world remains unchanged. The concept of the settlement of issues by war was not suitable during the civil war, and even less so for the settlement of international issues today. In today's world, no country has been able to settle political and border disputes with another country by war. Since our army's invasion of Vietnam 5 years ago, troops of the two countries have been confronting each other in large and small conflicts, resulting in casualties on both sides nearly every day and preventing peasants of the two countries from maintaining a stable life and engaging in normal production. Do we truly want to leave this meaningless, fruitless armed conflict to our future generations for settlement?

China and Vietnam share a 1,200-km border. The area now being disputed is only about 60 km long. Had the two sides displayed good faith in negotiations, the border disputes would have been settled long ago. The settlement of the border disputes would provide a sound foundation for the successful settlement of other issues.

It should be pointed out that the U.S. imperialism is wantonly interfering in our internal affairs and obstructing our country's reunification by supplying arms to Taiwan and treating it as the United States' unsinkable aircraft carrier. Even so, didn't we find a common language with them? Furthermore, we are preparing to receive the U.S. President with the highest honor. Why can we not sit down and talk to Vietnam and finally resolve the differences between the two countries? However, it is unrealistic to set preconditions for talks, whether in talks with a large or small country. Moreover, setting preconditions will get us nowhere.

CSO: 4005/566

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

BA YI ON JAPAN'S ECONOMIC AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA

OW141147 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1150 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Some of our leaders at the central level should notice that the reactionary authorities in Japan are vigorously lavishing praise on the glorious achievements of Prime Minister Nakasone's visit to China. The Japanese propaganda media claimed: In his talks with the Chinese leaders at the central level, Nakasone cleverly made use of China's desire to strengthen friendship and cooperation with Japan. As a result, he scored tremendous economic and political achievements during this visit to China. The above-mentioned facts prove that it is precisely from this type of shameful and selfish stand that Japan seeks to establish relations with China. When Nakasone visited China, he, first of all, talked glibly about the so-called generous gift he brought to China. He graciously promised to expand economic cooperation between the two countries, and increase Japan's economic investments in China. He also said that Japan planned to offer loans of 470 billion yen to China, and so on. Here we would like to carefully examine Japan's true intention in offering this generous gift. At a glance, Japan seems to be providing China with large loans, with terms favorable to China. However, if we convert the Japanese yen into U.S. currency, these loans only totaled slightly over 2 billion U.S. dollars. This amount is not really much for a country as large as ours. At the same time, we must also realize that, in borrowing this amount of money from Japan, we still need to pay a large amount of interest. Adding these loans to what we already owe, we would owe Japan more than 5.5 billion U.S. dollars. Thus, economically, we would rely on Japanese capitalists even more. As for Nakasone's promise to expand economic cooperation between the two countries and increase Japan's investment in mainland China, it certainly is in Japan's own interests.

Past experience tells us that Japan has tried its best to hamper China's economic development, so that she would rely on Japan in the economic sphere over a protracted period. Japan has attempted to turn China into a market for dumping its merchandise, and into a supply base for cheap raw materials. Even now, Japan has not given up this intention. Japan is willing to invest more money in China, provide her with so-called aid and machinery, and help her build railways and harbors. All this is aimed at shipping more raw materials out of China, saving freight charges, and shortening the shipping

time for raw materials to Japan. Therefore, whoever believes that the Japanese capitalists will help build China into a prosperous modern country is just daydreaming.

In criticizing those who hope to seek aid from capitalist nations, Chairman Mao pointed out: This is naive thinking. The rulers of these countries are imperialists. Would they offer aid to a people's nation? They seek to do business with us, and show willingness to offer us loans. What is the reason for all this? It is because the capitalists in these countries want to make money, and the banks in these countries want to earn interest to avert their own crises. It is not because these countries want to help the Chinese people.

It looks as if some people at the central level need to restudy Chairman Mao's correct. We must realize that the policy to strengthen friendship and cooperation with Japan is of great benefit to Japan's capitalists, and that such a policy would possibly chain us to the capitalists' chariot.

CSO: 4005/566

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PLA MEMBERS RESENT AUTHORITIES' DISTRUST

OW180151 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1150 GMT 14 Apr 84

[Text] On the instructions of a leading comrade of the Military Commission, the Air Force, the Navy and the border defense units have taken a whole series of preventive measures to check desertions. The happenings of the past year or so show that, not only have these measures failed to achieve the expected results, but they have become a big obstacle, adversely affecting military training and political education in the armed forces.

It should be pointed out, first of all, that the measure controlling the amount of fuel for flight training is just as stupid as giving up eating for fear of choking. An ancient book about the art of war says: The maintenance of an army for a thousand days is to use it for an hour. Maintenance means training. If Air Force pilots cannot receive training similar to actual combat in time of peace, how can we expect them to defeat the enemy in time of war?

Particularly absurd is the fact that, to prevent pilots of bombers and fighter-bombers from deserting, the same fuel-control measure applies during their long distance training. It is hard to believe that Air Force Pilots, trained under such circumstances, are capable of handling a complex situation in modern war.

Furthermore, the actual happenings of the past year or so prove that the measure, known as guarding the three passes, meant to strictly control the thinking of commanders and fighters of the Air Force and the Navy, has done more harm than good, and has caused increasingly serious emotional problems among commanders and fighters. Organizations concerned, under the general Political Department, clearly pointed out, in an investigation report late last year, that the long-standing practices--censoring the correspondence of commanders and fighters of the Air Force, the Navy and the border defense units; assigning special personnel to watch those on vacation or home leave; and periodically checking an armyman's friends, relatives, and social connections--have caused greater and greater dissatisfaction among army men. [words indistinct] are very correct. The legalist school has put it well: If you do not trust a person, do not use him; if you use a person, do not suspect him.

Distrust will always beget distrust. Supervision and control have already restricted the initiative and creativity of commanders and fighters, because, whenever they do or say anything, the first thing they consider is how to avoid arousing suspicion or misunderstanding.

Deserting one's country, or forsaking one's oath is, of course, shameful. But we must also ponder: Why were such political incidents as deserting to foreign countries or Taiwan so rare among our commanders and fighters during the early period after liberation, during the 3-year hardship period and even during the chaotic cultural revolution? Why has the number of people deserting to foreign countries by aircraft or ship increased during the last 5 years? Are such incidents not worth pondering by certain people?

CSO: 4005/566

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PRC IGNORES KIM IL-SONG'S WARNING ON JAPAN

OW241143 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1150 GMT 22 Apr 84

[Text] Not long ago, Kim Il-song, leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, expounded the political and military danger of revival of militarism in Japan. Comrade Kim Il-song has solemnly pointed out that Japan's revival of militarism constitutes a great threat to the people of Asian countries, and that what we have been watching out for is nothing but Japan's revival of militarism. He has also pointed out that because the Japanese brought tremendous calamities to the Asian people in the past, the people in Asia and other parts of the world surely will condemn a militarist Japan.

At a discussion on Kim Il-song's remarks on Japanese militarism held by the foreign affairs group of the NPC Standing Committee, Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out: Kim Il-song's statement is in fact identical to the statements made by our government in the past. On 3 September 1970, our government officially warned that the postwar Japanese militarism was revived by Japan by relying on U.S. forces after Japan formed a military alliance with U.S. imperialism. Japanese militarism plays a very important role of an accomplice in the counterrevolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism. Therefore, the revival of Japanese militarism poses a particularly serious threat, that cannot be overlooked, to the people of Asian and Pacific countries.

He also said: Later on, our position on this issue changed fundamentally. For this reason, it is better for us not to react to Kim Il-song's statement at the moment.

Someone pointed out in his speech at the foreign affairs group meeting of the NPC Standing Committee that Kim Il-song's strong-worded statement on Japan's revival of militarism was aimed at China's foreign policy. In recent years, our government has made frequent contacts with South Korea, supported Japan's revival of militarism in order to maintain Sino-Japanese friendship, and issued statements saying that Japan's military buildup is for self-defense and we do not think that the Nakasone government is pursuing militarist policies. These acts of our government have displeased that Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Recently, our government leaders have said that Japan must further increase its military spending to boost its defense capability. However, the

reactionary Japanese authorities are speeding up the revival of militarism under the pretext of augmenting defense capability. Japan's military budget has been unprecedented particularly since Nakasone took office. The military spending for 1983-84 is 16,400 billion yen, and Japan ranks eighth in the world in military spending. The huge military spending is for accelerating various military projects and equipping the troops with modern and powerful U.S.-made and locally produced weapons. It is reported that although the present strength of Japanese armed forces is small, they already rank eighth in the world, next only to those of the big military powers, such as the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and France. The Nakasone government is speeding up modernization of arms for Japanese air force and navy and expanding the marines and airborne units, so that they can operate effectively overseas if necessary.

This shows that Japan's military strategy is of offensive and aggressive nature. Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone said recently that the Japanese navy has the right to patrol sealanes 1,000 nautical miles away from Japanese coasts and, if necessary, blockade the Tsushima Strait. Some persons among the reactionary Japanese authorities have even said that Japan should restore its prewar sphere of influence, which covered the territory of our country and other Asian countries.

The above-mentioned facts call on us to resolutely oppose Japan's revival of militarism. We should never hide the serious threat posed by reviving Japanese militarism to our country from the armymen and people in our country. Because of the daily expanding strength of Japanese militarism and the aggressive ambition of the reactionary Japanese authorities, we must heighten our vigilance at all times.

CSO: 4005/566

TAIPEI ON BEIJING'S DELETIONS FROM REAGAN SPEECH

OW011205 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 1 May 84

[Station commentary]

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan's speech before 500 business leaders and scientists in Peking last Friday was made in the best of intentions and well presented. But the communist regime deleted the most important parts of that speech when it was rebroadcasted over its state-run television and radio during that night.

The portions deleted are one paragraph denouncing Soviet aggression and atrocities and several paragraphs enunciating the merits of capitalism and the foolishness of following the communist road.

Peking explained that the anti-Soviet portion was omitted because it did not wish to offend a third country, but said nothing about why the economic portion of President Reagan's speech was kept a secret from the people.

In making these deletions, the Chinese communist leadership once again made it plain that they will not join any scheme that is directed against the Soviet Union, and that their four basic principles will remain inviolate no matter how superior the capital system may be.

The Reagan administration is said to have reappraised the policy of its immediate predecessors to seek strategic partnership with Red China in view of the latter's limited capabilities. But Washington is still hoping to recruit Peking's help to check Soviet expansionism.

That is the major reason for Reagan's current trip to the Chinese mainland. Now Peking has once again rejected the U.S. efforts to make it a member of anti-Soviet alliance. On the contrary, Reagan's communist hosts are making preparations to receive the senior deputy premier from the Soviet Union right after his departure. So, it is time for the U.S. to forget the nonexistent China card altogether.

As to the secondary objective of the Reagan trip which is to make Red China a market of U.S. products, even the most optimistic observer knows that this objective can't be realized for years to come, if ever. The Chinese

mainland can become a major market for American products only when its 1 billion population is turned into consumers with the adoption of the free economic system, as Reagan suggested.

That hope is dashed by Peking's refusal to take his advice. Nonetheless, we admire President Reagan's missionary zeal in promoting democratic system in a communist land. Maybe he is naive. Maybe he is not.

Peking may keep the people in the dark for a while about the truth Reagan revealed, but not for long. There were 500 people present when he offered the advice. They will certainly tell their families of what the American President said.

The word will get out. Red China's byroad news spreads rather fast. One can bet that Reagan's gospel of economic truth will reach the grassroots level before long. His message will work like a time bomb ticking away the communist system on the Chinese mainland.

CSO: 4000/340

ISSUE OF 'ALIENATION' IN CHINA ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 74, Dec 83 pp 48-53

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "Alienation in China--A Discussion on Criticism of Zhou Yang's [0719 2254] Article Concerning 'Alienation'"]

[Text] Since Deng Xiaoping spoke at the 2d Session of the 12th CPC National Congress in mid-October this year and spoke about strengthening ideological work and eliminating spiritual pollution, violent attacks against spiritual pollution have been stirred up in Chinese newspapers and publications. The person who was first attacked was Zhou Yang.

Marx Did Not Deem All His Own Points of View Attaining Perfection

In March this year, Zhou Yang published an article entitled "An Exploration into Some Theoretical Questions of Marxism," at the time marking the centennial anniversary of the death of Marx. This article was of considerable significance. It was a penetrating work of Zhou Yang which resulted from an exploration through a profound self-examination after he had personally experienced the 10-year calamity of the cultural revolution. In this article, he raised certain viewpoints which engendered a feeling of freshness. It was a rare case in the Chinese Communist theoretical circles.

These outstanding viewpoints are summarized as follows:

1. Zhou Yang, like Hu Yaobang, emphasized that Marxism is a developing theory which develops itself along with the changes of objective conditions. But unlike Hu Yaobang, he felt that "the founders of Marxism did not consider all of their own theses and viewpoints be eternal truth having attained perfection." As one of the leading theorists, Zhou Yang, being able to express something like this, indicated that he was to some extent reexamining truth. In the course of exploration, he was inclined to be openminded and sincere. Such a spirit is clearly different from those who know only "holding high" [the banner of IUAO-thought] and "insisting on" [the line and policy of the CPC] and stubbornly worship Marx to the extent that whatever Marx spoke is universally applicable. Based on this word, we can at least make such an inference: Since neither Marx nor Engels even in his lifetime admitted that all his viewpoints were valid, we, the later generation, of course have more reasons to think that there is a need to conduct a new exploration into

Marxism today, 100 years after the death of Marx, on the basis of the progress of human society. No wonder Zhou Yang did not at any point in his whole article mention the "four insists."

CPC Was Inadequately Prepared for Marxist Theory

2. Zhou Yang frankly admitted that the CPC did not make adequate preparations to understand Marxist theory. This inadequacy started to exist since the building of the party. He said: "Before Marxism was introduced to Russia, there were Herzen (Aleksandr Ivanovich) and Chernyshevski (Nikolai Gavrilovich), and later on there were Plekhanov (Georgi Valentinovich) and Lenin. In China, there were only Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao. Chen was at that time only a radical revolutionary democrat and Li wrote very few books. It was not until the time when Mao Zedong Thought was being shaped and formed, that Chinese Marxism was theoretically maturing. Later on in periods of socialist revolution and socialist construction, theory was again being regarded as insufficient. First to say that Mao Zedong Thought was theoretically mature and later on to degrade it as theoretically deficient is self-contradictory. Leaving the contradiction aside for the moment, the real intention of Zhou Yang to put forward his opinion of theoretical inadequacy was mainly to indicate the theoretical level of the CPC since the party was established 62 years ago. He said emotionally: "A lack of theoretical preparation for Marxism is a very weak point of the CPC." The so-called lack of theoretical preparation is in fact to say the inadequacy of the theoretical preparation is in fact to say the inadequacy of the theoretical level. What he did say was a fact. After the party was being established, leaders of the CPC were busy in working for the alliance with the Kuomintang and for the Northern Expedition. After the Northern Expedition, they were under the White Terror. When they arrived in the Jinggang Mountains, they were busy in the Long March. After arriving in Yan'an, they again were busy in resisting Japan and Chiang. It really left them no time to thoroughly absorb Marxism, not to mention the broad knowledge of the Western philosophy, economics and socialism which had laid a foundation for Marxism. Inadequacy is a fact resulting from history for which it is not necessary to blame one another. The question, however, lies in the fact that those who are ignorant and incompetent insisted that they had already absorbed by themselves not only the entire Marxist truth, but also the truth which has been accurately integrated with practices in China, a truth that only may be insisted on and carried out, but not explored or debated." Consequently, Marxism has been monopolized and the route and path providing the means of access to the exploration of Marxism and to the advancement of theoretical preparation have been blocked. As a result, falsehood has become truth and a sham Marxism appears on the scene instead of the true Marxism. Of course, Zhou Yang himself did not say so, but his deeply touching conclusion was seemingly to let us make such an extension.

Chou Yang Criticizes Mao Zedong's "Two Essays"

3. Zhou Yang not only pointed out the inadequate theoretical preparation of the CPC in a vague and general manner, but he also specifically pointed out the theoretical inadequacy in modern China. Among other things, he in

particular mentioned that people in China know too little about German classical philosophy, especially Hegel's philosophy. From this point, he went further to discuss Mao Zedong's "two essays" (ON CONTRADICTION and ON PRACTICE). He criticized Mao Zedong from the philosophical point of view and pointed out that Mao had excessively treated antitheses as absolutes, thus resulting in magnifying the class struggle, and that he had overemphasized subjective initiative, thus resulting in the flooding of subjectivism during the period of the great leap forward. He went further to criticize Mao Zedong as overstressing political utilitarianism in theoretical and practical relations, which had made the integration of theory with practice an oversimplification and a vulgarization and eventually led metaphysics to run rampant during the period of the Cultural Revolution.

4. With respect to inheritance of culture, Zhou Yang highly praised one of Hegel's arguments which says that in philosophy, when one system overthrows another one, the one which has been overthrown is not totally negated, but kept as a lower echelon. Based on the same reason, he also praised a similar argument of Engels which says that thinkers regard the means of thinking left over by their predecessors as a presupposition to build up their own new theories. Therefore, new theories of any kind cannot go beyond the means of thinking provided by our predecessors. Based on these arguments, Zhou Yang was not only strongly against the attitude prevailing during the period of the "Cultural Revolution," which broke completely with the culture of the past, but instead, he advocated widening our field of vision in order to study from the worldwide view the cultural achievements accumulated by all mankind. Even though there may be things which are opposite to us, we must also touch them. It is not advisable to be complacent and conservative or to become self-confined.

Zhou Yang Talks About Human Nature and Alienation

5. Zhou Yang openly admitted in this article his own mistakes in criticizing the theory of human nature in the past. He said, over a considerable period of time in the past, human nature and humanitarianism had always been regarded by us as targets of criticism but not targets of study. Now, after the smashing of the gang of four, people are badly in need of restoring human dignity and enhancing human value. For this reason, people are starting to pay attention to Marx (ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844) and to the fact that Marx regarded the liberation of all mankind as his own duty. Marx was, therefore, a man who cared and attached great importance to people. And man also occupied an important position in Marxism. Zhou Yang is, after all, a man heavily imbued with class mentality. Still he has divided humanitarianism into Marxist and capitalist. However, he does not totally reject the humanitarianism of the capitalist class. He holds that it is also necessary to make a concrete analysis of the humanitarianism of the capitalist class under concrete conditions and it is not advisable to totally negate it. Under certain conditions, the humanitarianism of the capitalist class may also become an ally of Marxism. On this point, he specifically mentioned Romain Rolland, the author of JEAN CHRISTOPHE, as an example. Romain Rolland was a humanist, but he was also a friend of communist parties all over the world.

6. Zhou Yang finally touched upon the most sensitive question--the question of alienation. He gave a very clear definition of alienation saying that "so-called 'alienation' means that a subject in its process of development produces its own antithesis because of its own activities. And this antithesis then, as an external and alien power, turns back to fight against or to control the subject itself." In his opinion, Marx never gave up the concept of alienation from his youth until the late years of his life. The opinions of Zhou Yang which are most resented by those who are now in power are that he not only regarded it possible for alienation to take place in capitalist society, but also in socialist society. He straightforwardly pointed out that alienation has been in existence in such fields as economy, politics and ideology in the society of Communist China. He said: "In economic construction, because we lack experience and do not understand the realm of necessity of socialist construction, we have done many stupid things in the past. As a result, we reap only what we have sown. This is alienation in the economic field. Because neither democracy nor legal systems are perfect, public servants of the people may sometime abuse the power entrusted to them by the people and turn out to be masters of the people. This is alienation in the political field or alienation of power. So far as alienation in the ideological field is concerned, the most typical example is the personality cult. This is similar in certain aspects to criticisms made by Feuerbach (Ludwig Andreas) with regard to alienation of religion."

Ideological Inhibition Undermines Talents

The reason I must say something about the outstanding views in Zhou Yang's article is to prove one point that Zhou Yang, in writing that article, did not write it for any particular occasion, nor did he want to make it officialese or dull preaching. And, of course, he did not write to shoot at random. Views expressed in his article were conclusions drawn from deep reflection about the bitter experience of the Cultural Revolution. This was one of the crystallizations of the shortlived emancipation of thinking following the smashing of the gang of four. We may say in this way that in the CPC, there are really some who are thoughtful, cultivated, willing to think and explore. If this party would not impose inhibitions on its own theorists which have made it easy for them to be criticized, we have every reason to believe that there would be people of talent coming forth in large numbers from among them and that there must be many more like Zhou Yang. These people may even explore more deeply and extensively than Zhou Yang did before and bring about full blossoms in emancipating people's minds as advocated by the Chinese Communists. However, it is unfortunate that people in power in Communist China have monopolized the right to interpret Marxism-Leninism and that they are also not broadminded enough to let others seek truth. The only thing they care about is to try to maintain the power in their hands and to safeguard the existing regime. This is the major premise from which everything proceeds. Anyone who is in conflict with or harmful to this major premise must hold his tongue no matter who he is. Those who have already spoken out must kowtow and admit their mistakes. I think that, under circumstances like this, even if Marx and Engels were brought back to live in today's China, they also would be put under inhibitions like this. Being a party which considers itself faithful to Marxism, is it not itself

faithful to Marxism, is it not itself alienated from Marx and Engels if it clamps down on thinking within its own party to such an extent?

Not To Act Like "Bruno," But Like "Galileo"

In this alienated situation, a XINHUA News Agency reporter interviewed Zhou Yang. Through Zhou Yang's own words, it was reported that he had admitted his mistakes and had made a self-criticism. Why was Zhou Yang not allowed to write an article himself, instead of having to plead guilty by way of an interview reported by a third party? Whether there were any other peculiar twists in this matter we just do not know. However, it is not difficult for the CPC to force a person like Zhou Yang to plead guilty. Zhou Yang is a party member who acquired truth and conscience only in his late years, but he is, after all, not like Bruno¹ who faced death unflinchingly for the cause of truth. He is at most only like Galileo, who in the face of pressure publicly recanted but still held to the truth in the depths of his heart.

We, therefore, deem that the article published by Zhou Yang in March was written in depth and after profound thought, while the "self-criticism" now relayed by the XINHUA reported appears to be devoid of content and is merely officialese. In the "self-criticism," he did not use any new theory or valid reason to reverse his own views made known in March. He merely acknowledged that when he spoke out earlier, he was "careless and hasty," "not openminded or prudent enough," and was "first to sweepingly summarize certain dark sides of different aspects of socialist society with the name of 'alienation'" so that "the concept of 'alienation' has been willfully magnified." How can these words be deemed a valid argument? Not only is this not an argument, it is not even a theory, but an "excuse" produced under political pressure. It is convincing to use new theories or arguments to overthrow old viewpoints, but it is unacceptable to the people to use political reasons to hastily negate one's own well-considered points of view, and it will make one detest the hand of political pressure behind the scenes which has forced him to "admit mistakes."

Theory of Alienation from Hegel to Marx

Is there really alienation in socialism? How does the theory of alienation come into being? What impact does it have on the CPC? To give answers to these questions, we have to start from the beginning.

¹ Giordano Bruno, 1548-1600, Italian philosopher. He was heretic of the Roman Catholic Church because he believed in the Copernican theory of the earth revolving around the sun. He was not tolerated by the Roman Catholic Church, which burned him to death.

² Galileo (born Galileo Galilei), 1564-1642, Italian astronomer, physicist and mathematician. He improved the telescope and discovered the satellite of Jupiter and sun spots. When he was 69 years old, he was forced to recant the theory of the earth's revolving about the sun. But privately he still murmured: "The earth still moves around the sun."

What is meant by alienation? The definition given in the article published in March by Zhou Yang was absolutely correct. To use a common expression, alienation means a thing (the subject) which in its process of development produces from itself a force which is antagonistic to and different from itself and which later on will even turn back to control or fight against itself and, therefore, become different from the original intention.

The theory of alienation was not initiated by Marx. Long before Marx, there were some philosophers who had touched upon alienation. Hegel talked even more than others about alienation. In his book PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE MIND he used nearly 100 pages of space (number of pages in the Chinese version published by the Commercial Press) to discuss the question of alienation alone. But alienation discussed by Hegel mainly belongs to the spiritual world which includes goodwill and evil, nobleness and meanness, knowledge and belief, enlightenment and superstition, morality and its inversion, conscience and conviction, crime and forgiveness, and so forth.

Feuerbach in his book THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY also discussed alienation. He started with criticism of religion and felt that in religious belief men had already alienated themselves. God is created by man, but eventually he is controlled and dominated by this god. Before God, man appears to be totally powerless. From this point, he proceeded to view Hegel's philosophy as a kind of theology, too, because in Hegel's philosophy there is an "absolute spirit" which is supreme. The degree of purification that this "absolute spirit" has achieved in Hegel's philosophy is similar to that of God in theology. For this reason, Feuerbach felt that idealism is a philosophical form of religious alienation. Feuerbach also discussed alienation of man, but he regarded man's harmonious life as alienated by the nature of man which is a kind of self-alienation. The man hereby referred to by Feuerbach is a man of the natural world, not man in society. He did not look for the source of the alienation of man from society.

Marxist Theory of Alienation

Marx in his early years was a "Young Hegelian" who was profoundly influenced by Hegel and was very much influenced by Feuerbach. But Marx was different from both of them. He extracted the notion of alienation of man both out of Hegel's spiritual world and Feuerbach's natural man and put it into society. Marx began with the concept of the alienation of man's labor. He said, the more the wealth a laborer produces, the poorer he himself will be; the more commodities a laborer makes, the more he himself will be controlled by them. Under such circumstances, the commodity is an alien force which causes the producer to deviate from becoming independent of it and finally becomes something dominating his destiny. Labor does not merely produce commodities; labor also reduces the laborer himself to a commodity. As a result, the more the laborer expends himself, and the more things he creates which cause him to deviate from himself, the more power the objective world wields over him, so that his inner world becomes increasingly impoverished and his possessions fewer and fewer. This is similar to what is said in religion that "the more a man dedicates to God, the less he can reserve for himself."

Marx also said that the alienation of the laborer had already become increasingly valueless and degraded. As his products are made more perfect, he himself becomes more crippled and ugly. As his goals become more civilized, he himself becomes more barbarous. As labor becomes more powerful, the laborer becomes increasingly powerless. As labor becomes exquisite, the laborer becomes more stupid and more like a slave of nature."

In such situations, Marx said, a laborer in his labors does not affirm but negates himself. So far as the laborer himself is concerned, labor "does not make him feel happy, but makes him feel miserable, nor does labor let him freely exert his physical and spiritual strength, but ruins his body and destroys his soul." Therefore, to him labor has already become an alien force. "While he does not work, he feels at ease; while he works, he is not quite himself. Therefore, his labor is not performed at his own will, he is forced to work."

Consequently, the laborer becomes a man who longer performs the free activities of human nature, only animal functions such as eating, drinking, reproduction and so forth. He begins to feel that he is no different from an animal. For this reason, Marx said: "Things of an animal nature become things of human nature, and things of a human nature become things of animal nature." That is, the "alienation of things" in labor as described above becomes the "self-alienation" of man.

These words were absolutely true during the initial period of capitalism in the 19th century. Now, in the 1980s, they are not quite appropriate, but there is still some truth in them.

Finally, Marx attributed the source of all kinds of alienation mentioned above to private property. He felt that the only way to do away with alienation of man is to repudiate private property. His communist ideal was derived from exploring the alienation of man. Therefore, he said: "Communism is a thorough repudiation of private property which makes man self-alienated." Therefore, man "has been restored to a social (i.e., human) status; therefore, communism "as a perfected humanitarianism" and "naturalism" have thus "truly resolved" the "antagonistic conflicts between man and nature and between man and man."

Marx's MANUSCRIPT becomes A Thorn of the Communist Party

All the arguments of Marx mentioned above were set forth in his ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844 (hereafter referred to as the MANUSCRIPTS). This MANUSCRIPT, written between March and August of 1844, was originally intended to be only part of a large work which Marx had planned to write. This great work was originally planned to touch upon various fields, including society, politics, law and morality, which are relevant to political economy. The book was never completed because it was too diversified. The MANUSCRIPTS, which was not put in order, were preserved, but not for publication. Marx died on 14 March 1883. Franz Mehring, the well-known author of the biography of Marx, still failed to mention the MANUSCRIPTS when he completed THE BIOGRAPHY OF MARX in March

1918. In 1927, Liang-zan-nuo-fu [phonetic: Zinoviev?], the first director of the Marx-Engels Institute in the USSR, published a part of the Russian version of the MANUSCRIPTS in an article entitled "The Preparatory Work of the HOLY FAMILY" in Volume III of THE MARX-ENGELS LIBRARY at the time when he was compiling the LIBRARY. In 1929, the magazine MARXIST REVIEW published in Paris also made public some other passages of the MANUSCRIPTS in two articles ("Notes on Communism and the Private Ownership System" and "Notes on Needs, Communism and Division of Labor") carried in the fifth issue of the magazine. In 1931, J. P. Mayer reported in RED REVIEW, A SOCIALIST MONTHLY published in Zurich, that he had discovered this work written by Marx in his early years and published Part III and the "Foreword" of the MANUSCRIPTS in Volume I of KARL MARX'S HISTORICAL MATERIALISM (A WORK FROM THE EARLY YEARS). The full text of the MANUSCRIPTS was first published in 1931 in Volume III of the German version of THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS. In 1933, the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow added an appendix that Mehring's BIOGRAPHY OF MARX had omitted which also provided additional remarks to some of the principal arguments in the MANUSCRIPTS. "The MANUSCRIPTS" was first published in China in 1957 by the People's Publishing Co.

The entire original draft was divided into four chapters. Chapter I contains nine pages, the first part of which is full of notes relevant to political economy, and the second part of which deals with wages, profits and land rents. Chapter II has only one page dealing with private property in general. Perhaps this chapter has been lost. Chapter III is the longest (17 pages), and deals with private property and labor, private property and communism, needs, production and division of labor, currency and criticism of Hegel's philosophy. Chapter IV is fully occupied by notes on Hegel's works. The whole MANUSCRIPTS seems somewhat disordered, both in writing and in overall structure but the two topics which stress human nature, i.e., the "Theory of Alienation" and "Humanitarian Communism," are explicitly treated.

Hence, the long-delayed publication of the MANUSCRIPT of Marx has become a headache for the people of the Communist Party in power today. They cannot deny the truthfulness of the MANUSCRIPTS, nor can they deny the Marxist theory of alienation. They also cannot deny that the Marxist theory of alienation was originally aimed at defending human nature and that the ultimate goal of the communism conceived by Marx was the liberation of human nature of all mankind. However, the Marxist theories of alienation, of human nature, and of humanitarian communism have already become detestable things which cannot be swept away by those who are trying to safeguard the present status of the existing regime. Here, we catch sight of an intriguing phenomenon: the theory of alienation discovered by Marx has unexpectedly become an alienating force to the "Marxist" followers who are in power today. Communist parties all over the world have all become self-alienated in the fact of the Marxist theory of alienation.

Alienation of Labor and Alienation of Publicly Owned Property

The types alienation discussed by Marx in the MANUSCRIPTS all occurred in societies under systems of private property, especially systems of

commodity capitalism. Communist parties in power today are unlikely to raise any objection to alienation in this respect. However, the question is that since alienation may occur in capitalist societies under the private property system, is there still alienation in communist societies where the land of the landlords and capital of the capitalists have already been confiscated?

To answer this question does not require theory, but fact. In fact, not only does alienation of labor as described by Marx still exist in communist countries, but new kinds of alienation have also emerged in various fields such as economy, politics, law, morality, art and science. In communist society, alienation does not disappear along with the abolition of the private property system, but has, on the contrary, become more and more magnified and more and more serious on the new social foundation.

Economically, alienation of labor is not confined to laborers in enterprises or to peasants in the vast areas of land in Communist China. During the Mao Zedong era, Mao issued orders to transfer tens of millions of young intellectuals to work in outlying rural areas and to send millions of cadres to rural areas to undergo reform through labor. The cases of oppression of human nature resulting from these measures simply were too numerous to record. The Chinese Communists may argue that causing thousands upon thousands of people to suffer was only a mistake of a short period of time and it has now been gradually rectified. True, the policy of transferring cadres to work at a lower level has been abolished, but the young intellectuals who were transferred to work in outlying rural areas in the past have now become middle-aged intellectuals. They are still not allowed to have permanent residence in cities. Besides the young intellectuals who were transferred to outlying areas, we can also see those "reform-through-labor farms" and "reform-through-education farms" for people sent into exile in outlying areas. People working in these farms are forced labor and unpaid, and they live a concentration-camp life. In these farms, where does human nature exist? They have not only become animal-like, they are even worse. Is this also only a temporary mistake? Does it not already constitute a part of the whole system? Not only is labor in China not an essential element of a happy life, nor is it a free exertion of mind and body, but it has become a way for the rulers to punish the people.

Economically, the abolition of the system of the private ownership of the means of production was originally aimed at returning to the people property that had become both antagonistic to and alienated from them. But, at present, property of this kind is becoming more and more estranged from the people and more and more the property of the bureaucrats in power. This is "alienation of the means of production," or it may be called "alienation of property." Planned economy was originally designed for abolishing capitalist anarchy, but the production anarchy derived from the planned economy of today is a hundred times more devastating than that of capitalism. That is "alienation of planned economy." Moreover, it is not even worth mentioning that many stupid deeds have been carried out in the course of China's economic construction the last 30 years by ignoring the economic "realm of necessity."

Alienation of Revolution and Alienation of Power

Politically, revolution is being carried out in the name of the people. However, revolution certainly has not brought liberation to people. It has pulled them out of one kind of slavery but has thrown them into another. The old dictatorship was horrible, but the new one is even more so. The old dictatorship forcefully deprived the people of freedom, but the new dictatorship, in addition to forcefully expropriating people's freedom, also forces them to deprive themselves of their own freedom. This is "alienation of revolution."

Politically, revolution does not bring power to people. Revolution only brings power to "those who have conquered the country." As a result, officials who have to act as public servants of the people have become their masters. These officials do not abuse power entrusted to them by the people, but they have deprived the people of the power to entrust power to them, a power which the people are entitled to have. This is exactly "alienation of power."

Legally, the social background to the formulation of so-called laws of course reflects the class consciousness in society. However, we must strive to make law basically universal, concise, lasting and fair so that it will become a charter to be observed by all people in public social life and so that it will have the same binding force upon any person and any organization. This character of law is most vividly expressed in international law and is also clearly displayed in the legal systems of many democratic countries. However, since the class character of the law is overemphasized by the CPC, the fairness of the law is often forfeited. This is the first kind of alienation of law. Second, the CPC not only stresses the class character of the law, but it also stresses its party character and factionalism, or even looks on personal thoughts and words as the law (Lin Biao even intended to write his right of succession into the constitution). This is the second kind of alienation of law. Third, the supreme power to make laws rests in the hands of the party leadership, as does the supreme power of judicial trial. The party overrides both the law and the courts. As a result, the law has completely lost its lasting, fair and universal binding force on the basis of equality. This is "alienation of law."

Alienation of Morality and Alienation of Ideology and Art

Morally, revolution does not bring liberation to human nature but rather ties up everyone's will and personal character in a net intertwined by both ideology and power. Consequently, people have become timid, fearful, cowardly, obedient and willing to yield to power. Thus, they no longer have independent thinking or integrity. The moral value of dedicating oneself to the revolution, the motherland and the people has already been replaced by extreme selfishness and greed in pursuit of personal interests, money, power and private ends. The extremely degenerate social morality seems to be a reaction to disappointment in revolution. The practice of spitting freely anywhere is not only a universal stupid habit, it also gives vent to the depression and grievance in one's innermost soul. Those who stress

culture, manners, morality, beauty of mind and beauty of behavior are themselves seeking modernized personal living conditions equipped with electric and electronic appliances as well as seeking illicit sexual dalliance. In dealing with the people, they allow public security officers to unscrupulously and willfully carry out feudal punishments, which are both barbarous and brutal, against those who are eyesores to them. This is "alienation of morality."

Ideologically, Zhou Yang pointed to the personality cult as a typical example. He said that "this is in certain aspects similar to the alienation of religion that was criticized by Feuerbach." This is really a very perceptive comment. God was created by man; afterwards, God started to dominate men's soul with unparalleled power. The personality cult is also formed by man. After the personality cult has been molded, it also has the same unparalleled power as we saw vividly during the cultural revolution. The personality cult in the Communist Party is built on the basis of the party just as the authority of God and the Pope is built on the basis of the church. The church has adopted an attitude of strictly excluding pagan and dissident culture and art. Therefore, during the Dark Ages and Medieval Ages in Western Europe, church literature and art dominated the cultural domain. The attitude of the Communist Party toward culture and art is very similar to that of the church. Therefore, in communist countries there can only be literature and art in the party spirit. This is "alienation of ideology, literature and art."

Many Theorists in the CPC Admit Alienation

All these kinds of alienation mentioned above are facts, not theories. Thus, it can be seen that the alienation discussed in Zhou Yang's article published in March is still limited. The alienation that exists in society is much more serious than Zhou Yang has noted. But people in power in the CPC have already made it known that they cannot stand even this slight exposure and are determined to force him to openly admit mistakes. Is there any use in forcing a person to admit mistakes? An old saying says: "What is said cannot be unsaid." If words and articles which have already been released are filled with truth, they would, of course, strike a sympathetic chord among the people and be accepted by them. People absolutely will not accept things that are false. To force a person to admit mistakes will, on the contrary, arouse people's interest to pay more attention to the words or articles which have been admitted as wrong, and negative propaganda effects will be produced. The reason for this is also a phenomenon of alienation which can be called "alienation of official propaganda."

Actually, Zhou Yang is not the only one who has perceived the phenomenon of alienation in Communist Chinese society. Director Xin Benshi [6717 6321 1835] of the institute of Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, revealed that since 1978, there have been more than 500 articles published in various newspapers and publications discussing alienation and humanitarianism. Some admitted in general terms that there is the phenomenon of alienation in socialist, but others were particularly noteworthy. The most outstanding

viewpoints were those similar to Zhou Yang's. Next to that was the view that the society of present-day China is the same as that of capitalist society, which is to say that alienation of labor still exists. Some held that alienation comes from the continued existence of feudal relations within certain links in the superstructure. Some others felt that the source lies in the socialist system itself. However, opinions supporting the people in power basically denied the existence of alienation. They admitted only that there are still certain drawbacks and shortcomings of the present society and, they degraded "alienation."

President Wang Zhen [3769 7201] of the CPC Central Party School recently delivered an exceptional speech to criticize those who talked about alienation. He said: "Some say that ours is still not a socialist country, or that socialism in our country is agricultural socialism. There are others who unceasingly disseminate the so-called 'alienation of socialism,' saying that in socialism there is not only alienation in ideology, but also political and economic alienation. Still others even say that 'the source of alienation lies in the socialist system itself.' These viewpoints are completely opposite to Marxist scientific socialism."

Is the "theory of alienation of socialism" "completely opposite" to Marxist scientific socialism? How do they actually conflict with each other? Wang Zhen, as the top person in charge of the party's theoretical education, did not in the least give anyone a theoretical or factual explanation.

Society in Communist China Is Alienation of Marxism

But we are able to explain both theoretically and by facts that so-called socialism in China is completely opposite to Marxist Scientific socialism. The "socialism" currently practiced in China is essentially an alienation of Marxist socialist thinking. The reasons are:

1. In the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO Marx said: "The first step in a workers revolution is for the proletarian class to become the ruling class and strive to achieve democracy." The "reign" mentioned by Marx obviously refers to "reign" democratically elected by the workers. This is the reign of class, not the reign of the party, and it is of course not the reign of a handful of people. However, the reign established by the Communist Party is neither the reign of the workers, nor that of the people, it is but the reign of the party and especially of a few oligarchs in the party who have the rule. Under rule of this kind, the working class is entirely in a position of being ruled. Not only are they prevented from striving to achieve democracy, but even the mere right to strike is also openly denied them. Is this not exactly "alienation of Marxism?"

2. In the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Marx also said: "If it is said that in the struggle against the capitalist class the proletarian class must unite as one class, or if it is said that it can make itself a ruling class through revolution and use violence to exterminate the old production relations by regarding itself a ruling class, then, at the time when production relations of this kind are being abolished, the conditions under which classes conflict

with each other will also be extinguished and all classes will be eliminated once and for all. And rule by class itself will be abolished altogether." This is the foundation of "the theory of the withering of the state." The reason the proletarian class must become the ruling class is only to exterminate the old production relations or to abolish the foundation on which antithetical classes exist. Once the antithesis between classes is abolished, the rule of the proletarian class, or the workers state, will simultaneously die away. However, since the work to abolish the old class has been done to a certain degree in Communist China, not only does its state machine not give the slightest indication of dying out, but instead, it has become stronger and stronger. With whom is it going to deal by strengthening itself? Of course, it is not going to deal with the capitalists of the old days like Rong Yiren [2837 3015 0088] or Wang Guangying [3769 0342 5391], but it is to be used to reign over the people as a whole. Is this not again a kind of alienation of Marxist socialism?

3. In the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Marx further said: "A united body in which free development of individuals is the condition for all people to develop freely will replace the old capitalist society in which various kinds of classes and antitheses between classes exist." It is clearly stated that the socialist society conceived by Marx is a union of the freedom of individuals and freedom of the whole people. However, the society established by the CPC is but a ruling body which deprives each and every person of his freedom. In Chinese Communist society, people do not have freedom of thought, speech, assembly, the press, association, to strike, travel, move (residence), employment, going abroad, and the freedom to associate with foreigners. Moreover, under certain circumstances, people even do not have freedom of marriage or correspondence. A society like this is far, far away from a free body united on the basis of equality. It is but a sealed body with a rigid distinction between different classes in which there is no freedom and the majority of people are ruled by the minority. A society like this is completely opposite to the Marxist socialist conception. How could it be said that this is not alienation? No wonder many among those in our country who discuss alienation do not recognize the present society in China as a socialist one.

Enough. It is not necessary for us to give too many examples. The three reasons mentioned above are all cardinal principles. We hope that those who criticize the theory of alienation stop writing and think it over seriously.

It is easy to oppress Zhou Yang, but is it possible to suppress alienation which has objective existence? Marx tried to convince people with reason all his life. He never relied on force to disseminate his ideas. Do those who are apt to force others to admit mistakes not feel that this style of work is also a type of alienation?

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